B O S T O N  U N I V E R S I T Y

G R A D U A T E  S C H O O L

Thesis

# H O R A C E and M A E C E N A S

Submitted by

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-HORACE AND MAECENAS*

- OUTLINE -

The year of Caius Cilnius Maecenas' birth is unknown. Horace designates April (13) as the month and day. (1)

The earliest reference to Maecenas places him at the battle of Philippi 42 B. C., as a young soldier. (2) Another reference (3) speaks of the hardships that Octavianus underwent at Philippi, hardships that both Maecenas and Agrippa confessed, as having been endured by Octavianus.

However, this reference (3) does not say that Maecenas was actually present at Philippi.

At any rate, the year 42 B. C. must be taken as the date of our first definite mention of this man.

That his given name was Caius is confirmed by an inscription on the tombstone of one of his liberated slaves, a certain C. Maecenas Melissus, (4) a grammarian to Maecenas and favorite of Augustus. (5) He was early given his freedom by Maecenas.

(1) Hor. Odes lV-Xl (13-20)

(2) Riese. Anth. l. Eleg. 779 (42-44)

(3) Pliny. N.H. Vll 148

(4) Pauly Wissowa-Discussion of "Name" of Maecenas.
Real Encyclopadie.

(5) Suetonius Lives of Eminent Grammarians XXl

Horace's patron was called Cilnius Maecenas by Tacitus (1). Augustus, in a letter, called him "Cilniorum smaragde". (2) Livy (3) speaks of the Cilnii--the ancestors of Maecenas --as possessing great power and wealth at Arretium about 301 B. C. The Cilnii (4) were his ancestors on his mother's side. Horace said that Maecenas had ancestors, on both sides, who in past times had command of mighty legions (5). His ancestors were of noble Etruscan lineage (6).

We have no certain trace in history of the Maecenates (7)

(1) Tac. Annals-Vl-11
(2) Macrob. 11 4, 12
(3) Livy X 3, 5 X. 3, 2
(4) Pauly-Real-Encyclopadie-"Name" of Maecenas
(5) Hor. Sat. 1-Vl (1-6)
(6) Hor. Odes III-XXIX-1
(7) Merivale-Vol III-Chap XXVII

We don't know where he received his education or where he first met Octavianus. Horace (1) tells us that Maecenas was learned in both Latin and Greek, and in another reference (2) he refers to Maecenas as "docte".

Octavianus and Agrippa first met at Apollonia (3) in Illyria, where both received their educations, and it was during their school days that first they met; so it has been conjectured that Octavianus and Maecenas may have become intimate friends there. Apollonia, at the time, was known as an educational center.

(1) Hor. Odes. 3-8 (5)

(2) Epist. 1-19--1

(3) History of Romans-Merivale--Chap. 27

Ferrero (1) thinks that Maecenas probably came to Rome from Etruria around 52 B. C. At the time he was about twenty years old. If the reference in an Elegy (2) by some unknown writer is correct which reference places Maecenas as a young soldier, at the battle of Philippi 42 B. C. he would be nearer thirty years in 52 B. C.

Ferrero (1) says, too, that the family of Maecenas, at the time of his supposed coming to Rome, was interested in commerce and contracting.

Maecenas was negotiator of the treaty of Brundisium, 40 B. C., a treaty which brought about a new division of the Roman Empire. "This treaty, says Ferrero, (3) anticipated by three centuries - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Greatness and Decline of Rome--Vol. II Chap. VIII Page 153.

(2) Riese. Anth. I Eleg. 779 (42-44)

(3) Greatness and Decline of Rome--Vol. III Chap. XIII Page 256.

that division of the Roman World into the eastern and western empires which was finally accomplished in the reign of Diocletian.

At this same time, 40 B. C., Maecenas arranged two important marriages (1), the marriage of Octavianus and Scribonia, Aunt of Sextus Pompey; and the marriage of Antony with the virtuous Octavie, sister of Octavianus. The first marriage united Octavianus to the famous house of the Scribonii. (2), It brought about the intervention of Scribonius Libo and the peace of Misenum (3), Scribonius being the father-in-law of both Sextus Pompeius and of Octavianus. Sextus, because of his undisputed command of the sea was able to prevent the passage of the corn ships from Africa and Egypt to Rome.

By this treaty of Misenum, Sextus promised to supply Rome with corn from Sicily, his stronghold and from Sardinia. An amnesty was granted to all his followers, except the murdurers of Caesar, and the restoration of their possessions was promised.

The marriage between Antony and Octavie, also arranged by Maecenas, helped to bring about the Treaty of Tarrentum 37 B. C. By this treaty, Antony furnished Octavianus with a hundred and thirty ships for the war against Sextus (4) while he, Octavianus, gave him a force of twenty thousand legionaries for the Parthian expedition. Jealous of each other at the time, Octavie did much to bring about this treaty and their reconciliation. The arrangement of these two marriages by Maecenas, was one - - - - - - -

(1) Horace et Mecene-Revue Politique Dec 1873
(2) Merivale-Chap 27
(3) Horace et Mecene-Revue Politique-Dec 1873
(4) Merivale-History of Romans-Chap. 27

that division of the Roman Empire into the Eastern and Western empires which was finally accomplished in the reign of Honorius.

At this same time, 50 B. C., Ptolemy arranged his famous marriages (1), the marriage of Octavianus and Scribonia, heir of Sextus Pompeii and the marriage of Antony with the virtuous Octavia, sister of Octavianus. The first marriage united Octavianus to the house Julia of the Scribonii. (2). It brought about the intervention of Scribonia's father and the house of Lucanus (3), Scribonia being the father-in-law of both Sextus Pompeius and of Octavianus. Octavia, because of his undignified conduct of the, was able to arrest the progress of the evil which arose from Africa and Egypt to Rome.

By this marriage of Lucanus, Sextus managed to supply Rome with corn from Sicily, his stronghold and from Sardinia. In consequence was granted to all his followers, except the murderers of Caesar, and the restoration of their possessions was granted.

The marriage between Antony and Octavia, also arranged by Maecenas, helped to bring about the triumph of Octavianus at B. C. By this marriage, Antony furnished Octavianus with a hundred and sixty ships for the war against Sextus (4) while he, Octavianus, gave him a force of twenty to make Lepidus for the Parthian expedition. Lepidus of such value at this time, Octavia did much to bring about this harmony and their reconciliation. The arrangement of these two marriages by Maecenas, was one - - - - - - -

(1) Secret of Ancient Rome Politique Les Idees
(2) Merivale-Chap 27
(3) Secret of Ancient Rome Politique-Les Idees
(4) Merivale-History of Romans-Chap. 27

of his greatest services to Octavianus. Horace (1) tells us of a trip he took with Maecenas to Brundisium where he, Maecenas, hadbeen sent with Cocceius, upon some important business for Octavianus.

This trip probably took place September 38 B. C. (2)

Octavianus had been badly beaten by Sextus, all his naval resources (3) having been almost completely destroyed. Alarmed, he sent Maecenas to meet Antonius.

This is the trip that Horace describes (1). Maecenas succeeded in getting the unsteady colleague of Octavianus, Antonius, to stand by him. (4)

In August 37 B. C. Maecenas with Octavianus and Agrippa met Antonius where the Treaty of Tarrentum, before mentioned, was completed.

(1) Hor. Sat. I-V

(2) Ferrero-Vol III-XV-Page 288

(3) Merivale-Chap 27-Vol III

(4) " -Chap 27-Vol III

(5) Ferrero-Vol III-XVI-Page 294

In 36 B. C. just previous to the complete rout of the Pompeians by Octavianus and Agrippa. off the coast of Sicily, Maecenas had the difficult task of keeping pacified an unsteady populace at Rome, (1) a crowd that knew that the defeat of Octavianus meant the cutting off of their food supply.

Tacitus tells us (2) that during the Civil Wars, Octavianus committed to Maecenas the government of Rome and all Italy.

The Battle of Actium comes as the next important opportunity for Maecenas to serve his master. This battle took place September 2, 31 B. C.

(1) Merivale-Chap. 27

(2) Tac. Annals-Bk. VI-11

Horace (1) tells us of Maecenas' intention of going to the battle of Actium. Mr. Shorey, in his notes on the epode, in his edititon of Horace, states that Maecenas probably was not present at Actium, but returned from Brundisium to take charge of the government.(2)

Merivale (3) states that after the battle of Actium, Agrippa took charge of the administration at Rome, while Octavianus continued his course through Greece and Asia Minor.

At this time, 30 B. C. there came another of Maecenas' great services to Octavianus. Marcus Lepidus, son of the man who had been triumvir, Lepidus, had formed a plot to kill Octavianus upon his return to Rome. Maecenas was, at the time, chief of the guards of the city.

(1) Hor. Epode 1 (1-4)

(2) Shorey-Horace-Odes & Epodes
note on Epode 1 (1-4)
Seneca Epist. 114. 6:

(3) History of Romans-Chap. 27.

Working swiftly and carefully he overturned the plans of Lepidus and crushed this beginning of a new Civil War. Velleius (1) records this as a very important service.

Octavianus came to Rome in 29 B. C. and received a triple triumph. The magic word of "peace" was in the air.

Suetonius (2) tells us that Octavianus twice entertained thoughts of restoring the Republic. He was tired of his responsibilities and wished to retire to private life.

A pretended debate between Octavianus and his advisers is given by Dio, (3) in which Agrippa advised Octavianus to relinquish the monarchy, while Maecenas advised his master to continue in his course, directing the monarchy. Maecenas is here pictured as a minister with very progressive ideas.

Merivale (4) says that "modern criticism has justly concluded that these elaborate harangues are pure inventions of the writer, Dio."

It seems doubtful, too, that Octavianus would relinquish at thirty-three what he had set his heart upon ever since he was nineteen, the position of emperor.

Ferrero (5) says that, at this time, 28 B. C. Maecenas cared little whether a Monarchy or Republic were forthcoming, wishing to--

(1) Velleius Paterculus 2 LXXXVIII

(2) Suetonius XXVIII

(3) Dio LII-(1-40)

(4) Merivale Vol 3 Chap 30

(5) Ferrero Vol 4-7

retire to private life and enjoy his wealth.

In 27 B. C. Octavianus was invested with the title of Augustus, and in that same year left Rome for Spain (1). Due to illness Augustus was forced to remain away for two years, during which time Agrippa and Maecenas were in charge at home (1).

Horace (2) reflects the diligence of Maecenas for the welfare of Rome during this absence of Augustus, speaking of Maecenas' seriousness in his work.

Augustus returned to Rome 24 B. C. (3).

In the year 23 B. C. while ill, he gave to Agrippa his seal ring (3). In 31 B. C. he had given duplicates of his seal ring to both Agrippa and Maecenas, so that they might read his letters to the Senate and to others (4).

We notice that in 23 B. C. Maecenas received no seal ring along with Agrippa. Possibly, he and Augustus had, by this time, parted company.

(1) Merivale - Chap. 30

(2) Hor: Odes - III - XXIX (25-28)

(3) Merivale - Chap. 30

(4) Dio-Bk L1-3

In 22 B. C. L. Licinius Murena, brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, was taken in a conspiracy to overthrow Augustus and, as a result, was put to death. Suetonius (1) says that Maecenas told Terentia of the discovery of this plot, thereby causing hard feelings between himself and Augustus, who accused Maecenas of his inability to keep a state secret. Some historians think this a cause of a break between Emperor and minister. Tacitus (2) says that Maecenas, like Sallustius Crispus in his old age, had lost his real influence with Augustus, it being a case of satiety on both sides, Maecenas having given all he was capable of, and Augustus having granted all he could, on his side.

Dio (3) tells us of a trip Augustus took in 16 B. C. to Gaul, gossip at home having it, that he was accompanied by Terentia, intending to live in Gaul with her. Some consider this the real cause of a break between them.

(1) Suetonius -LXVI -Lives of (12) Caesars

(2) Tacitus -Annals -III -30

(3) Dio -LIV -19

In 47 B. C. L. Helvius Cinna, brother of Tullia, the wife of Tullius, was taken in a conspiracy to overthrow Caesar and, as a result, was put to death. Suetonius (1) says that Caesarion told Antonius of the discovery of this plot, thereby making more feelings between himself and Octavian, who attacked Caesarion of his inability to keep a state secret. This statement gives rise to a theory of a break between Caesar and Antonius. Tacitus (2) says that Caesarion, like Antonius, Octavian in his old age, had lost his real influence with Augustus. It being a case of safety on both sides, Caesarion having given all he was capable of, and Antonius having greater aid he could, on his side.

Dio (3) tells us of a trip Augustus took in 16 B. C. to Gaul, greatly at Rome having it, that he was accompanied by Caesarion, intending to live in Gaul with her. Some consider this the real cause of a break between them.

(1) Suetonius -LXVI -Lives of (12) Caesars

(2) Tacitus -Annals -III -30

(3) Dio -LIV -10

Maecenas died in 8 B. C. (1) He left all his money and property to Augustus. As his last words he was said to have uttered

-Horatii Flacci ut mei memor esto--(2)

Suetonius (3) tells us that Augustus was deeply hurt if he was left a niggardly bequest or nothing at all, in the will of a friend. He was greatly satisfied if praised in terms of gratitude. If the deceased had offspring or relatives, Augustus would immediately turn the legacies over to them.

Petronius (4) speaks of an instance where a group of forest-rangers, slaves of Trimalchio, disinherited their master, Trimalchio, in their wills, with praise.

It was necessary for the slaves to mention in their wills, their master in order to make the wills legal; as the passage was explained.

Probably in the case of Maecenas, the mentioning of Augustus' name in the will, made the will absolutely legal.

Horace (5) likewise, made Augustus his heir, probably by word of mouth, since Horace at the time of his death was violently ill.

(1) Dio-LV-7

(2) Suetonius--Life of Horace

(3) Suetonius--LXVI-"Deified Augustus"

(4) Petronius--53-9

(5) Suetonius--Life of Horace

Becomes dled in B. C. (1) He left all his money and property to Augustus. As his last words he was said to have uttered

-Horatii Flacci ut mihi mecum mato--(2)

Suetonius (3) tells us that Augustus was deeply hurt if he was left a mightily bequest or nothing at all, in the will of a friend. He was greatly satisfied if praised in terms of gratitude. If the deceased had offspring or relatives, Augustus would immediately turn the legacies over to them.

Petronius (4) speaks of an instance where a group of forest-rangers, slaves of Trimalchio, distinguished their master, Trimalchio, in their wills, with praise.

It was necessary for the slaves to mention in their wills, their master in order to make the will legal; in the passage was explained.

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(1) Pio-LV-7

(2) Suetonius--Life of Horace

(3) Suetonius--LXVI-"Deified Augustus"

(4) Petronius--55-6

(5) Suetonius--Life of Horace

II

Now to make a study of the more personal life of Maecenas, as seen chiefly through Horace, for Horace has rather well reflected Maecenas as he knew him.

In spite of the fact that his work kept him within a narrow circle, Maecenas was, evidently, popular with the people of Rome. Horace (1) speaks of a time when Maecenas was greeted by a great applause in the amphitheatre, and again mentions this same instance (2) when Maecenas was thrice hailed in the theatre, after an illness that almost caused his death. This ovation to Maecenas was a good indication of the admiration of the people for him, and evidently had impressed Horace who took the time to twice make mention of it.

Maecenas was an admirer of a comedian by the name of Bathyllus (3).

(1) Hor. Odes I-XX-(3-4)
(2) Hor. Odes II-XVII-(22-26)
(3) Tacitus-Annals-I-54

His frequenting of theatres where this actor was playing must have certainly helped his popularity with the crowd.

A story is told by Dio (1) which illustrates his personal influence. According to the story, Maecenas had come upon Augustus holding court and about to condemn many, even to death. Unable to force his way through the crowd, he wrote upon a tablet "Pray, rise, at last, executioner," throwing it upon Augustus' lap who without a word arose and left, without imposing sentences.

This story well illustrates the power Maecenas was able to exercise over, even his superiors. He could command the admiration of all.

At the beginning of Georgic III-Vergil prophecises that some day he will lead the Muses in triumph from Helicon to Italy, and rear a temple to Caesar, but postponing all this, he now says he will discuss "cattle" at the request of Maecenas, a task by no means light, but says Vergil:-

(1) Dio LV-7

-te sine nil altum mens incohat-(1)

This is a fine example of how the lesser mind could influence the greater.

Dio simply says--"Maecenas pleased all" (2)

Besides his power of making himself liked he possessed what Horace deemed the true mark of nobility, in that he cared not of what parents a man were born, provided he be a man of merit (3), a man of upright morals. I Interpret the word "ingenuus" used here by Horace to mean "honestis moribus".

Horace, whose father had been a slave must have appreciated this quality of Maecenas.

Maecenas, on two occasions, (4) made requests of Horace which were both refused. On the first occasion it was a request to write history in poetic style. Horace tactfully declined on the ground that it was the--

(1) Georgics III-42
(2) Dio LV-7
(3) Hor. Sat. I-VI-(7-8)
(4) Hor. Odes II-XII, (1-9) and Epist I-I (1-3)

will of his Muse to sing of lighter things, and tells Maecenas that he himself could better recount the battles of Caesar (1).

The second request was to return to lyric poetry, but Horace again politely refused on the ground of age and a more serious mind (2).

We must recognize the kindness and good sense of Maecenas in not pressing his wishes and in letting the poet be his own judge.

As Mr. Frank so well says, "Maecenas was the kind of sportsman who could appreciate the poet's temper".

(1) Hor. Odes-II-xII-(9-12)
(2) Hor. Epist-I-I-(4)
(3) Horace and Catullus-Frank

work of his Muse to wing of lighter colour, and tells Meissonnier that he himself could better recount the battles of Ulster (1).

The second request was to return to lyric poetry, but Torrens again politely refused on the ground of age and a more serious mind (2).

He must recognize the kindness and good sense of Meissonnier in not pressing his wishes and in letting the poet be his own judge.

As Mr. Frost so well says, "Meissonnier was the kind of horseman who could appreciate the poet's temper".

(1) Mor. Odes-II-xii-(9-12)
(2) Mor. Odes-I-i-(6)
(3) Torrens and Catullus-Frank

Maecenas actually admired the smoke, opulence and bustle of flourishing Rome(1) and was plainly very serious in his work.(2) Horace can't understand how his patron can endure such a routine life, and not get out into the country once in a while.

Maecenas evidently found his enjoyment in work and felt lost without his city environment.

He would often go without sleep when it was necessary to finish some work.(3) For such seriousness Horace scolded him, telling him to seize the benefits of the present hour (4) instead

"Dona Praesentis cape laetus horae--linque severa--" (5)

(1) Hor-Odes-III-XXIX-(11-12)
(2) Hor-Odes-III-XXIX-(25-28)
(3) Velleius-II-LXXXVIII
(4) Hor-Odes-III-VIII-(17-28)
(5) Hor-Odes-III-VIII-(27-28)

cf. Velleius II. 88. 2

One may conjecture that Maecenas was a man who had to keep moving, who knew not how to enjoy himself in repose, one who found his pleasure in action. Horace thought such an existence impossible.

Maecenas lived on the Esquiline Hill in an abode noted for its extravagance and splendor.(1) not at all shown by this ref

Horace(2) invites Maecenas to his home, upon one occasion, requesting him to enjoy a poor man's board.

"My Home", Horace seems to say, "is without lavish furniture, but it's a poor man's dwelling, and a consolation for a care-burdened brow."

He is indirectly reflecting the luxuriousness of his patron's home.

Probably Horace is thinking of Maecenas, when he proclaimed himself a deserter from the side of the rich to the camp of those desiring nothing.(3)

(1) Hor-Sat-I-8-14
(2) Hor-Odes-III-XXIX-(13-16)
(3) Hor-Odes-III-XVI-(22-24)

Augustus, whenever he was not well, used to sleep at Maecenas' home. (1)

He could enjoy there the splendid gardens, gardens of a type first introduced by Epicurus at Athens, (2), really pleasure grounds.

Maecenas, considered effeminate, may have been the victim of some chronic disease. He was ill, at one time, for three years with a fever, (4), which made rest for him, by day or night, practically impossible. To induce sleep he often drugged himself with wine, (5), and utilized artificial means, distant music and sounds of falling waters. (5)

(1) Suetonius--LXXII--"Deified Augustus"
(2) Pliny--XIV--4
(3) Juv.--Sat.I--(63-68)
(4) Pliny--N. H.--VII--51
(5) Seneca De. Prov.III--10

Horace in speaking of the applause that greeted Maecenas in coming into the theatre, also mentioned that the occasion for the applause was the recovery of Maecenas from an illness that nearly caused his death (1). This same ode starts thus:-

-Cur me querellis exanimas tuis-

Maecenas was plainly sensitive about his health, something which mildly disgusted Horace, who immediately assures Maecenas that their horoscopes agree and tells him to cease worrying (2).

Maecenas probably relied upon Horace for the practical consolation that we know the poet could give.

At one time, Horace (3) was away from Rome for a month when he had promised to be back in five days

(1) Hor. Odes. II-XVII - (22-26)
(2) Hor. Odes II-XVII - (21-22)
(3) Hor. Epist I- VII

Horace is speaking of the applause that greeted Maecenas in coming into the theatre, also mentioned that the occasion for the applause was the recovery of Maecenas from an illness that nearly caused his death (1). This same ode starts thus:-

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Maecenas was plainly anxious about his health, something which mildly disgusted Horace, who immediately assures Maecenas that their horoscopes agree and tells him to cease worrying (2).

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At one time, Horace (3) was away from Rome for a month when he had promised to be back in five days

(1) Hor. Odes. II-XVII - (25-26)
(2) Hor. Odes II-XVII - (21-22)
(3) Hor. Epist I- VII

Horace pleads ill health, but at the same time declares his spirit of independance.

(nec otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto) (1)

He seems to say that he will return to Rome when he feels in the mood, but that now the country holds his attention.

Rome no longer pleases the poet, (2) but now Tibur and Tarentum hold his attention.

It's possible that Maecenas wished to see Horace upon some matter of business that he wished him to return to Rome, but it's also possible that he missed his friend greatly after this month away, and simply wished him back with him.

Maecenas wrote the following lines:-

Vita dum superest, benest; hanc mihi
vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine (3)

Should give the whole quotation

(1) Hor. Epist-I-Vll-(35-36)
(2) Hor. Epist-I-Vll-(44-45)
(3) Seneca-Epist. Morales-Cl-ll

This unhealthy philosophy seems to be that of a sick man, who is somewhat neurasthenic. He is willing to suffer torture, if only life may remain. Surely it would be impossible to say that he wished to live, because he really enjoyed living. Enjoyment, under pain, would be impossible.

He evidently thought that death meant the end, and unwilling to embrace death, preferred to live, even if under physical handicap.

Maecenas' home life was irregular, his wife causing him much trouble. He often grieved over her waywardness (1), although he himself, a chronic complainer about his health, might have been a disagreeable husband.

In 16 B. C. it was said that Augustus and Terentia, wife of Maecenas, went away together to Gaul (2), intending to live abroad. We note from this same reference (2) that a certain

(1) Seneca--De Prov. III --10
(2) Dio--LIV--19

Taurus was left in care of the city, for during the last ten years of his life Maecinas was out of favor at court(1)

Terentia, being intimate with Augustus, must have caused trouble between her husband and his master.

His home life, without the interest of children, along with the waywardness of his wife, must have caused Maecenas not a little anxiety.

Maecenas up to the end of his life remained a knight. He never had the ambition to become a Senator.

One may say that this was a mark of conceit, that he wished to be chief of knights rather than simply another Senator. However, as Mr. Girard says, (2) "Maecenas simply saw more freedom in remaining a knight than being connected with the regular organization of the State."

(1) Merivale--History of Romans--Chap. 27
(2) Horace et Mecene--Revue Politique--Dec. 1873

Lastly, one may wonder whether he ever played. Recreation, a necessary part of any man's life, found its place on Maecenas' daily program.

Horace, in telling how he is subjected to envy because he is Maecenas' friend says:

> Ludos spectaverat una, luserat in campo
> Fortunae filius! omnes (1)

This may have been one specific instance when they witnessed the shows and played together, but because Horace mentions it as an occasion for envy to others, it seems probably that they played games together often enough, to cause general talk among the people.

On the trip to Brundisium Horace (2) mentions that fact that Maecenas played ball, on one occasion, while he and Vergil went to bed.

Ferrero says that Maecenas had a passion for physical exercise. (3)

Writing, too, was perhaps part of his recreation program.

(1) Hor. Sat. 2 6 (48-49)
(2) Hor. Sat. 1-5 (48)
(3) Ferrero Vol. 3-15

Lastly, one may wonder whether he ever played. Recreation, a necessary part of any man's life, found its place on Baconess' daily program.

Torres, in telling how he is subjected to envy because he is Baconess' friend says:

Being upsetting me, interest in camps

Fortunes fling: games (1)

This may have been one specific instance when they alternated the chess and played together, but because Torres mentions it as an occasion for envy to others, it seems probably that they played games together often enough, to cause general talk among the people.

On the trip to Ermelinus Torres (2) mentions that fact that Baconess played ball, on one occasion, while he and Vergil went to bed.

Torres says that Baconess had a passion for physical exercise. (3)

Riding, too, was perhaps part of his recreation program.

(1) Bor. Sat. 2 8 (40-40)
(2) Bor. Sat. 1-2 (52)
(3) Torres Vol. 3-15

He was evidently a connoisseur of the best in wines (1) for Horace, in the opening line of this ode, tells Maecenas that he will get only cheap wine at his house.

He was learned in the literature of both Latin and Greek,(2) so must have found therein a source of much pleasure.

He was especially fond of a pantomine actor by the name of Bathyllus, (3) and attended performances where this man was playing.

During spare time, Maecenas worked out a system of shorthand, (4) evidently to make more easy, routine work connected with the government.

He was also the first to construct a swimming pool of warm water in the city. (5)

In general, from what has been said, we may mention several outstanding faults. He was a complainer about his health, effeminate, a lover of luxury, a man with a distorted philosophy of life.

At the same time we must admit that he was very talented, (6)

(1) Hor. Odes 1-20 -1
(2) Hor. Odes 3-8 -5
(3) Tac. Annals 1 -54
(4) Dio LV-7
(5) Dio LV-7
(6) Seneca Epist. Morales xlx - 9

He was evidently a connoisseur of the best in wines (1) for Horace, in the opening line of his ode, tells Maecenas that he will ever only chosy wine at his house.

He was learned in the literature of both Latin and Greek,(2) so must have found therein a source of much pleasure.

He was especially fond of a particular actor by the name of Pylades, (3) and attended performances where this man was playing.

During spare time, Maecenas worked out a system of shorthand, (4) evidently to make more easy, routine work connected with the government.

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(1) Hor. Odes 1-20 -1
(2) Hor. Odes 2-6 -3
(3) Tac. Annals 1 -52
(4) Sio 17-7
(5) Sio 17-7
(6) Seneca Epist. Morales xix - 9

possessed of many native gifts, one who was always on the job and one who cauld do his work well.

Seneca is rather unfair in judging him (1) contrasting him on his downy couch with the patriot Regulus upon the cross. Seneca, here, however, is not really criticising Maecenas as a man but Maecenas as a symbol of Epicureanism or as Mr. Girard (2) says, "Seneca is indirectly criticising Nero".

At any rate, he later contrasts Maecenas' effeminate manner of walking with his eccentric style of writing and says (3) "The looseness of his speech matches his ungirt attire and manner of walking."

For all of his effeminateness he was a hard worker and capable minister.

(1) De Prov. 3 (9-10)
(2) Horace and Mecene- Revue Politique Dec 1873
(3) Seneca Epist. CXIV

III

Although Maecenas styled himself a man of letters, his style was said to have been eccentric and debauched. (1) Often quoted as typical of Maecenas' style and philosophy is the following. (2)

Debilem facito manu, debilem
pede coxo
Tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos
quate dentes
Vita dum superest, benest: hanc
mihi vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.

Seneca[3] quotes several lines from Maecenas' pen which are what he calls examples of Maecenas' intoxicated style.

(a) "A stream and a bank covered with long-tressed woods."

(b) "See how men plough the channel with boats and turning up the shallows leave gardens behind them."

(1) Seneca--Epistulae Morales- XIX - 9
(2) Seneca-- " " 101 -11
(3) Seneca--Epistles CXIV--5

Although Seneca styled himself a man of letters, his style was said to have been eccentric and derivative. (1) Often quoted as typical of Seneca' style and philosophy is the following. (2)

Mobilem facito manu, debilem
pede obso
Tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos
quate dentes
Vita dum superest, bene est: hanc
nihil vel acuta
Si cadens crusa, mustino.

Seneca quotes several lines from Ennius' pen which are what he calls examples of Ennius' intricated style. (3)

(a) "A stream and a bank covered with long-
treased woods."

(b) "Can how man plough the channel with
boats and turning up the shallows
leave gardens buried down."

(1) Seneca--Epistulae Morales- XIX - 9
(2) Seneca-- " " LXI -11
(3) Seneca--Epistles LXIV--8

(c) "Threads of tiny tapers and crackling meal"

(d) "Mothers or wives clothing the hearth"

These lines could certainly not be termed, manly. However, choosing a few lines here and there from any writer is very misleading. Even Seneca later mentions two lines from Maecenas which he himself admired for their manly vigor.

(a) "There's thunder even on the loftiest peaks" (1)

(b) "I want no tomb, for Nature doth provide for outcast bodies burial. (2)

These two lines impressed Seneca, but on the whole, Maecenas' style was probably eccentric. Tacitus (3) refers to his style as full of affectation and artificial ornament. In refering to it, he speaks (3) of the "crisping pins" or "curling irons" of Maecenas. He probably means to compare his style with the artificial curls in which women and effeminate men tricked out their hair.

(1) Seneca--Epist. Morales- XIX - 9
(2) " " " - XCII-35
(3) Tacitus-Dialogue on Oratory--26

(c) "Thread of tiny tapers and crackling wool"

(d) "Mothers or wives clothing the dearth"

These lines could certainly not be termed, sandy. Moreover, choosing a few lines here and there from any writer is very misleading. Even Dennis later combines two lines from Macaroni which he himself admired for their sandy vigor.

(a) "There's thunder even on the loftiest peaks" (1)

(b) "I want no tomb, for Nature doth provide for
coteaux bodies burial. (2)

These two lines impressed Dennis, but on the whole, Macaroni' style was probably eccentric. Taylors (3) refers to his style as full of affectation and artificial ornament. In referring to it, he quotes (3) of the "curlicing pins" or "curling irons" of Macaroni. He probably means to contrast his style with the artificial curls in which women and effeminate men crimped out their hair.

(1) Sacco--Dyet. Morales- XIX - 9
(2) " " " - XXII-36
(3) Taylors-Dialogue on oratory--32

Maecenas wrote several works, a work entitled "Prometheus" "a Symposium," a work entitled "De Cultu suo" "Octavia" some stray verse and perhaps some History. (1)

Horace (2) tells us that Maecenas could, if wished to do so, write history, or at least he thinks Maecenas better prepared for such work than he.

Maecenas was said to have written many "carmina". (3)

In the circle of Maecenas were many writers who taken together formed a rather diversified group. There was Valerius Messala, a finely educated patrician, the sharp-sighted temperamental Asinius Pollio, Propertius noted for his pacifism, Horace, the Epicurean, but later on, friend of Stoicism and Vergil the great classicist, (4) upon whom Maecenas seldom pressed his wishes.

In a reference (5) in Pauly we find the following statement: "Maecenas had oversight of the development of writing in both Poetry and Prose. So it is clear that he approached

(1) Seneca - Epistulae Morales XIX - 9x note: Pauly Page 220 "Prosa"
(2) Hor Odes II XII (9-12)
(3) Serv: Georg. II 41
(4) Catullus and Horace-Frank-Page 155
Pauly- Discussion of Maecenas and contemporary litt.
(5) Pauly- R. E. Discussion of Maecenas and contemporary litt.
F. Mark (R. M. LXXIV 174 f.)

writers already known and pressed them into the service of Augustan policies, and created through them an official Press, as it were". Such remarks by Horace and Vergil show that Horace and Vergil (1) were writing at his request.

In looking at this group within his circle we cannot say that Maecenas was interested in them only for the service they were rendering to the Augustan regime. We have already seen that Maecenas wrote, himself, several works, was learned in Latin and Greek, and interested in literature. If we did not know these facts we would certainly have a right to think that he organized this group of writers simply for Augustan propaganda.

We owe the Georgics of Vergil to Maecenas (1) and from this same reference (1) we see that Horace also wrote at Maecenas' express wishes.

(1) Hor. Epode XIV - 5: Virgil Georg. III - 41

To appreciate the real worth of Maecenas one should look ahead to the age in which Juvenal wrote (1) and lamented the fact that no longer a Maecenas lived to patronize literary merit. It is very true, as Martial (2) says that "where there is a Maecenas, a Maro will not be lacking."

(1) Juv. Sat. VII - 94

(2) Mart. VIII - 56 . 5

IV

In 38 B. C. came the great moment in Horace's life when Vergil introduced him to Maecenas. The date 38 B. C. is fixed by Horace(1) who tells us in this reference that seven and nearly eight years have gone by since he was reckoned in the circle of Maecenas' friends. This satire (1) was supposed to have been written either in 31 or 30 B. C. (2)

Shy(3) and plainly embarrassed in the presence of Maecenas, the poet was unable to convey the best impression of himself, and after the introduction left with that mean feeling that he had ruined a great opportunity.

Horace must have felt very discouraged. At the time he was working as scribe to a quaestor, a position which he had purchased, it being a post reserved to freedmen, under the Republic and still continued (4). Horace, of aristocratic instincts was brought into contact with actors, parasites, sophists, and in general- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Hor. Sat II-VI (40) sqq

(2) Hor. Sat II-VI-note on line 40-Shorey

(3) Hor. Sat I-VI-57

(4) Ferrero-Vol III-XIV-Page 264

In 55 B. C. came the great moment in Horace's life when Virgil introduced him to Maecenas. The date 55 B. C. is fixed by Horace(1) himself as in this reference that seven and twenty eight years have gone by since he was received in the circle of Maecenas' friends. This written (1) was supposed to have been written either in 31 or 30 B. C. (2)

Thus(3) and plainly embarrassed in the presence of Maecenas, the poet was unable to convey the best impression of himself, and after the introduction left with that sense feeling that he had valued a great opportunity.

Horace also here felt very disencouraged. At the time he was writing as service to a Quaestor, a position which he had purchased, is being a poet conferred to Freedman, under the Republic and still continued (4). Horace, of aristocratic inclinations was brought into contact with actors, pantomimes, acrobats, and in general- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Hor. Sat II-VI (40) 8vo

(2) Hor. Sat II-VI-note on line 40-Conrey

(3) Hor. Sat I-VI-Dy

(4) Ferrero-Vol III-XIV-Page 364

the poorer classes of the city. He must have seen many tedious days and nights. We could hardly expect him to be writing odes now. At the time, however, before his introduction to Maecenas, he had attempted to compose Greek poetry, but quickly gave it up(1), saying that a vision of Romulus had urged him to do so.

In Satire II-Book I, instead of attacking some important moral question, he cynically discussed whether it was best to pay court to the married ladies or to the courtesans.

This whole satire plainly portrays Horace's disgust with life, at this time, that is, before his introduction to Maecenas.

Once again(2) we see a discouraged Horace when he urges the people of Rome to seek an imaginary dream isle, to "fly beyond the Tuscan shore and seek the happy plains."

(1) Hor. Sat. I-X (31-35)

(2) Hor. Epodes XVI (39-48)

the poorer classes of the city. He must have seen many instances and slights. We could hardly expect him to be writing odes now. At the time, however, before his introduction to Maecenas, he had attempted to compose Greek poetry, but quickly gave it up(1), saying that a vision of Horatius had urged him to do so.

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(1) Hor. Sat. I-X (21-25)

(2) Hor. Epodes XVI (39-42)

Horace, here, reflects general public weariness with Civil War.

The period after Philippi was one of extreme bitterness for the proud poet.

He probably thought that, after this introduction Maecenas had forgotten him, but this was not so.

Pressing business had drawn Maecenas' attention to the government matters.

Sextus Pompey was, at this time, preventing the passage of cornships from Egypt and Sicily to Rome. Public demonstrations at Rome made action necessary for Octavianus(1).

Maecenas, of course, was very busy, at the time, but with Sextus out of the way, he summoned Horace into the number of his friends, nine months after the first introduction,(2) sometime in the year 38 B. C.

(1) Greatness and Decline of Rome-Vol III-XV

(2) Hor. Sat I-VI (61-62)

Evidently Horace was, as yet, not so well known to Maecenas, as a writer. Ferrero (1) believes that Maecenas regarded Horace as a future politician. What an estimation of the poet!

To celebrate his entrée into the circle of Maecenas, Horace wrote the third satire of Book I on "Friendship."

The trip to Brundisium (2) was a fine month's vacation for the poet, and he certainly must have welcomed the chance to get away from his office duties.

(1) Greatness and Decline of Rome - Vol 3 - XV - Page 279

(2) Horace Sat. I - 5

Mention of the gift of the farm from Maecenas should have preceded this

V.

May 8, 1911 in the territory of the commune of Licenza on the provincial road called Vico Varo Orvinio, excavation work started upon what was supposed to be Horace's Sabine Farm.

Propaganda, started by the lovers of Horace and especially by Professor Vincenzo Ussani, Professor of Latin literature at the University of Pisa, really brought about this excavation work.

It had been supposed there was something there for one hundred years. This spot had been often pointed out to tourists as Horace's villa, where a few floors of inlaid mosaic were visible.

Professor Angelo Pasqui and the minister of Public Works were influenced to undertake this work, which continued straight up until October 1911 when the rainy season caused suspension.

The excavations proved the spot well chosen and revealed the status of a notable roman villa of a lordly type, yet, at the same time, bearing marks of austere simplicity.

Before the rainy season came on, the principal part had been uncovered.

Four years later, excavation work was resumed by stages, when the death of Professor Pasque interrupted the work.

Is this Horace's Villa?--Dr. Lugli says- "A long series of experiences has caused me to believe it is absolutely certain." The only thing lacking is Horace's name on the door plate which, if written, would read."

- Sabina Villula Horatii -

Dr. Lugli believes that judging from Horace's descriptions, the villa is absolutely his.

I secured this above material f rom Giuseppe Lugli's Monumenti Autichi.--Milano 1926

The modern road out to the villa follows along the Anio's winding. As Miss Haight says (1) "there are many temptations to stop by the way--at Palombara for the ascent of Monte Gennaro, at Hadrian's villa, and most of all at Tivoli."

But we must go on to the little

(1) Horace and His Art of Enjoyment.

town of Vico Varo, and just beyond Vico Varo, we turn to the left up the road which follows the Digentia. The Digentia is mentioned by Horace (1) "As often as the Digentia refreshes me, says Horace, what do you think are my sentiments--that my fortune may remain as it is now."

We now ascend to the town of Rocca Giovane. An inscription on the wall going up to the castle states that the Emperor Vespasian restored here a shrine of Victoria, and as the Sabine Goddess, Vacuna, was often identified with Victoria, this restored shrine may have been Vacuna's (2)

Horace (3), in finishing a letter to a friend said. "These words I dictated to you behind the mouldering temple of Vacuna: in all other things happy, except that you were not with me."

This inscription of Vespasian's makes us feel we are in Horace's country.

Horace's farm is about (32 miles from Rome, (14) from Tivoli. (2)

The house faced south. There was a garden in front, with a walk around it. In the center of the garden was a fish pond.

The house, on the north side, is reached, from the garden, by three sets of steps. Across the front of the house was a hall.

(1) Hor. Epist. I 18 (104-112)
(2) Hor. Art of Enjoyment-Haight
(3) Hor. Epist. I X (49-50)

Directly opposite the middle steps, was a large room. There were three rooms to the right of this central room and three to the left, although the rooms were not all the same size. In three of the rooms the mosaic floors are visible, black and ivory-white in color.

Behind these rooms in the front of the house was another passageway, and north of this passageway were other rooms.

I received the above material from Elizabeth Haight's "Horace and his art of enjoyment and from pictures and a map in Dr. Lugli's Monumenti Antichi.

Miss Haight says "Whatever archaeologists decide about the ownership of the Sabine Villa, we shall always feel that we mounted to Horace's Sabine citadel. In that retired valley, encircled with hills, sunlit at morn and eve, vocal with rivulet, shaded by olives, the genius of the place is his."

Horace(1) himself said that the rising sun warmed his villa on the right side, while the setting sun warmed it on the left. He also said in this same reference that a dark valley broke a continual range of mountains around the villa.

(1) Hor. Epist. I-16 (5-8)

Directly opposite the pit is stage, was a large room, there were three doors to the right of this central room and doors on the left, although the rooms were not all the same size. In front of the room the female figure are vitality, blood and ivory-white in color.

During these rooms in the front of the house was another passageway, and behind of this passageway were other rooms.

I received the above material from Alexander Malgidva "Nerces and his art of antiquest and from pictures and a map in Dr. Mylis Commercial Ambiaj.

Also Malgidva as a "Sumerian" archaeologist wrote about the conquests of the Aryan Vilis. We shall always feel that we conquered in Dorodia Tanina attacked. In that related valley, particular with Hilis, Amalis it were and are, vessel with metal(?), made by oliture, the quality of the Jlaos is bad. Around it (Amazi) said that the river, and warned the Vilis on-line-line air. Vilis has Aryling and warned it on not in it. We also said in-Vilis have (?)Tanina that a dark valley Jaoos a conditional relics of mountains around the Vilis.

(1) Ser. Arian. I-II (B-8)

Apparently between the introductions to Maecenas in 38 and the gift of the Sabine farm around 34 B.C., Horace still worked in the quaestor's office. This gift meant retirement for him.

In Satire II - VI (1 - 4) he shows his appreciation-- "This was in my prayers, says Horace, a bit of ground not too large, where there was a garden, a fountain with continual stream close to the house, and a little woodland." "Indeed, the gods have done better for me" says Horace.

"O rural retirement when shall I behold thee!" (1)

The farm itself was worked by eight slaves, for Horace once threatened one of his servants with punishment, making him number nine on the Sabine farm, if he didn't keep quiet. (2)

At another time, Horace speaks of five (5) tenant farmers, who lived on the farm, (3) who used to be sent to Varia, modern Vico Varo.

These two references perhaps refer to two different ways of running the farm.

(1) Sat. II-6-60
(2) Hor. Sat. II-7-118
(3) Hor. Epist. I-14-(1-3)

The Sabine farm which meant so much to Horace, may have been looked upon by Maecenas as compensation for Horace's confiscated Venusian farm, and may have been State property. (1) However that fact cannot lessen Horace's appreciation.

This gift brought poetic inspiration back to Horace, lightened his heart, opened up new sources for material for him, and gave him a happy medium in which to work.

In Ode XVIII - Book III, we find the poet in happy mood. This one was written to Faunus. The village folk were having a holiday with rustic celebration.

We find Horace, here, in complete sympathy with the rustic faith and worship. He had much in common with them, having been brought up in a rustic environment himself.

Ode XXII - Book III, was written to Diana and shows the poet identifying himself with the peasant folk.

(1) Catullus and Horace - Frank - Page 158

He promises, every year, to sacrifice a boar, before a pine tree which is sacred to the Goddess, following on old rustic custom.

"Faunus, the spirit of the spring and of the pine tree and the Lares of the crossroads still lived for Horace. They played near his home behind the trees on the hills, and it delighted Horace to get back into communion with them."

On the Sabine farm, he was able to realize what Mr. Frank so well says.

The great contentment of Horace on the farm is well shown in one of his odes (2) to a girl friend, Tyndaris. "The gods are my protectors," says Horace, "Here plenty shall flow to you, and here you shall avoid the heat of the dog-stor, and here, under the shade, quaff, cups of unintoxicating Lesbian"

(1) Catullus and Horace-Frank-Page 197.
(2) Hor. Odes. 1-xvll-(13-22)

When we turn to the period of the Epistles we find Horace more consistant in his love for the country. He has devoted himself to the study of philosophy.

-Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum: (1)

Now, no longer able to trifle, Horace turns his attention to more serious things. He had, indeed, always been a student of philosophy. He tells us in one of his satires (2) that whenever he visited with friends in the country, table talk was always of a serious nature.

Like the English poet Tennyson, Horace was a recluse, viewing society from an isolated spot, standing aloof from its activities, but nevertheless interested in the happiness of his fellow men, and the problems of society.

(1) Hor. Epist. 1- 1-(10-11)
(2) Hor. Sat. 11-6 (73-76)

During his days on the farm he reflected upon and enumerated some of the weaknesses he saw in men around him--love of gold, legacy hunting, building of enormous villas, the bustle of city life. Such things made Horace think.

He proclaims the mission of the poet--the shaping of the character of the young, an instructor to rising generations. (1)

In Homer (2) he now finds a guide for good conduct. Ulysses now becomes for Horace a model of self control and character.

The even flow of country life, its quietness, the babbling brooks, and moss covered rocks, were becoming Horace's greatest source of pleasure. Health, too, had much to do with this change in the poet.

(1) Hor. Epist. II-I-(126-131)
(2) Hor. Epist. I II-1 et seq.

Horace had been troubled with indigestion before (1) also some sort of eye weakness (1). He was under the care of Antonius Musa, (2) Court physician who had forbidden him to go to Baiae, and in his letter to Maecenas, he explained his longer absence as due to ill health, some sort of chest weakness.

At any rate, the Sabine form, at this time, afforded him a retreat where he could observe with keenness the world about him and set down maxims or rules for a happy life, bringing to bear, the wealth of past experience.

Maecenas must have often regretted that the Sabine form ever existed, for it meant the continual absence from Rome of Horace, with more and more infrequent visits to the city.

(1) Sat. I-V. (7-9)
(1) Sat. I-V. 30
(2) Epist-I-XV-(2-3)
(3) Epist-I-VII-(25-28)

# VI

It's interesting to note the growing friendship of Horace and Maecenas from the formal position of patron and patronized. We observe the dignity of the dedication of the first three books of the odes where Horace mentions Maecenas' ancestry and in sublime phraseology calls him "my protection and my darling honor".

He speaks of Maecenas' home:--

"domus hoc nec purior ulla est nec magis his aliena malis (1)

and refers to his patron as "partem meae animae" (2)

He speaks of Maecenas' learning, reminding his patron of his extensive knowledge (3), and mentions too his kindness and generosity.

--Satis superque me benignitas tua ditavit--(4)

Horace speaks of Maecenas' real mark of nobility, a man who looked for merit in a person as a basis of friendship rather than a man's social background. (5) He would not "turn up his nose at the unknown, if the unknown were worth knowing".

(1) Hor. Sat. I--IX--(49-50)
(2) Hor. Odes. II--XVII--(5)
(3) Hor. Odes III--VIII--(5): Epist. I-19. 1
(4) Hor. Epode I--(31-32)
(5) Hor. Sat. I--VI--5

It's interesting to note the growing friendship of Horace and Maecenas from the formal position of patron and patronized. We observe the dignity of the dedication of the first three books of the odes where Horace mentions Maecenas' ancestry and in sublime phraseology calls him "my protection and my double honor".

He speaks of Maecenas' honor--

"Some too can pontifex with cut and maple his aliens smile (1) and refers to his patron as "parlous noble scholar" (2)

He speaks of Maecenas' learning, remembering his patron of his extensive knowledge (3), and mentions too his kindness and generosity.

--Gallo superque me benignitas tua ditavit--(4)

Horace speaks of Maecenas' real mark of nobility, a man who looked for merit in a person as a basis of friendship rather than a man's social background. (5) He would not "turn up his nose at the unknown, if the unknown were worth knowing".

(1) Ser. Ser. I--IX--[40-50]
(2) Hor. Odes. II--XVIII--(5)
(3) Hor. Odes III--VIII--(6) Epist. I-IV. 1
(4) Hor. Epode 1--[31-32]
(5) Hor. Ser. I -VI--3

Later on Horace places Maecenas' name among those whose approval he sought as a basis for evaluating his work (1) and says that as long as Maecenas applauds his work he cares little for the opinion of others.

These references show Horace in his relation to Maecenas as patron and patronized. Later we see them intimate friends, and find many personal references in Horace.

Horace (2) tells his patron that he will get only cheap Sabine wine at his house, evidently, in case Maecenas comes over to see him.

In another ode (3) we find Horace inviting Maecenas over for a party.

"Take a hundred cups, says Horace, in honor of the safety of your friend, and let's have a party until daylight."

In another ode we find Horace celebrating the birthday of Maecenas (4) "a day, says Horace almost more sacred to me than my own birthday, since from this day, my dear Maecenas reckons his flowing years".

(1) Hor. Sat. I--X--76
(2) Hor. Odes I--XX--1
(3) Hor. Odes III--VIII--(13-15)
(4) Hor. Odes IV--XI--(17-20)

Later we Horace places Maecenas' name among those whom approval he sought as a basis for evaluating his work (1) and says that as long as Maecenas applauds his work he cares little for the opinion of others.

These references show Horace in his relation to Maecenas as patron and patronized. Later we see them intimate friends, and find many personal references in Horace.

Horace (2) tells his patron that he will get only cheap shoes also at his house; evidently, in case Maecenas comes over to see him.

In another ode (3) we find Horace inviting Maecenas over for a party.

"Take a hundred cups, says Horace, in honor of the safety of your friend, and let's have a very merry night."

In another ode we find Horace celebrating the birthday of Maecenas (4) "a day, says Horace almost more sacred to me than my own birthday, since from this day, my dear Maecenas reckons his flowing years".

(1) Hor. Sat. I--X--72
(2) Hor. Odes I--XX--1
(3) Hor. Odes III--VIII--(13-15)
(4) Hor. Odes IV--XI--(17-20)

Once again we see Horace speaking very intimately to Maecenas (1) "Would you, says Horace, change one of Lycimnia's tresses for all the rich Achaemenes possessed?"

Lycimnia is probably Terentia, the wife of Maecenas.

In an epode (2), Horace speaks most intimately when he wishes Maecenas bad luck upon visiting his lady friend, if he has the nerve to eat any more of that so offensive garlic.

This reference is about the most intimate one that we have.

We see Horace (3) asking Maecenas

"Why do you kill me with your complaints". Horace then cleverly informs Maecenas that it is not agreeable to the Gods or to him, that he should depart first. Horace is becoming an adviser to Maecenas.

"Cease to admire the smoke, opulence and din of flourishing Rome (4), "says Horace. "seek a poor man's board, (4), it will do you good."

(1) Hor. Odes--II--XII-- (21)sqq

(2) Epode III--(19-22)

(3) Hor. Odes--II--XVII--(1-4)

(4) Hor. Odes--III--XXIX--(11-12): (13-16)

We find Horace (1) telling Maecenas frankly to put aside his political cares. "The Dacian Cotison's army is defeated, says Horace, the troublesome Mede is in the midst of Civil War, the Cantabrian is subject to us now and the Scythians are preparing to quit the field. Leave your work for a while and seize the gifts of the present hour. Enjoy life."

Again Horace gives Maecenas a little advice. "You regard, says Horace (2) what constitution may suit the state, and anxiously fear for Rome" Horace then goes on and tells Maecenas that only that man is master of himself who can say "I have lived today."

We now see Horace and Maecenas in the relation of friend to friend.

During the period of the Epistles Horace seems to have been a confirmed lover of the country. Maecenas remained a lover of Rome. It's Tibur now or Tarentum for Horace. (3)

(1) Hor. Odes III-VIII-(17-28)
(2) Hor. Odes III-XXIX-(25-28)
(3) Hor. Epist. I-VII-(44-45)

Ill-health, his leaning toward Stoic ideas and growing seriousness of mind made solitude for Horace, the ideal medium in which to work. Hours by babbling brooks or fountains looked better to him now than hours in Rome.

Horace, however, never forgot all that he owed to Maecenas. It is very true, what Juvenal says:

--satur est, cum dicit Horatius "Euhoe"[1]--

Maecenas certainly made it possible for Horace to do his best work in fun, and, later on, during the period of the Epistles, to have the proper medium in which to consider ethical questions. The patron gave the poet the means of a happy life, after his period of suffering, after Philippi. Horace knew how to live a happy life and he did so, until his death in 8 B. C. of some violent sickness (2) a few months after the death of Maecenas.

(1) Juv-Sat. VII-62
(2) Life of Horace-Suetonius

--SUMMARY OF REFERENCES IN HORACE TO MAECENAS--

--PERSONAL REFERENCES--
--SATIRES--

A)-Book 1 -Satire 111-Lines (63-65)

B)-Book 1 -Satire V -Line (48)

C)-Book 1 -Satire Vl -Lines (1-8)
(47 )

D)-Book 1 -Satire Vl -Lines (51-53)
Book 1 -Satire Vl -Lines (54-64)

E)-Book 1 -Satire X -Line (76)
(81)

F)-Book 11 -Satire Vl Lines (40-44)
(48-49)

--ODES--

A)-Book 1 -Ode 1 -Lines (1-2)

B)-Book 1 -Ode XX -All

C)-Book 11 -Ode X11 -Lines (21-28)

D)-Book 11 -Ode XV11 -Lines (1-4)
(5 )
(10-12)
(21-22)
)22-26)

E)-Book 11 -Ode Xv111 -Lines )11-14)

F)-Book 111-Ode V111 -Lines (5)
(13-15)

G)-Book 111-Ode Xv1 -Lines (20)
(22-24)

H)-Book 111-Ode XX1X -Lines (1)
(11-12)
(13016)
(32-33)

I)-Book 1V -Ode X1 -Lines(17-20)

Personal Reference (continued)

-Epodes-

A. Epode I (5-8)
(31-32)

B. Epode III (13-22)

C. Epode IX (1-6)

D. Epode XIV (13)

-Epistles-

A. Book I Epist. I (1-4)

B. Book I Epist. VII (1-5)
(12-13)
(22-23)

Now, to briefly consider the content of these personal references-

-Satires-

A. Book I Sat III (63-65) Horace speaks of his own lack of reserve in sometimes bursting in upon Maecenas.

B. Book I Sat V (48) Maecenas plays ball on one occasion on trip to Brundisium.

C. Book I Sat VI (1-8) Horace speaks of noble ancestry of Maecenas, on both his mother's and his father' sides.
Maecenas looked for character in a friend.

(47) Horace envied because he is constant guest of Maecenas.

D. Book I Sat VI (51-53) Maecenas was cautious to admit only the worthy into his friendship.

(54-64) Account on introduction of Horace and entrance into circle of Maecenas

E. Book I Sat X (76) Horace satisfied with Maecenas approval of his works.

(81) Looks for Maecenas' approval of his satires.

F. Book II Sat VI (40-44) Horace has been friend to Maecenas now about (8) years - Horace is Maecenas traveling companion.

(48-49) Witnessed shows and played together

## ODES

A. Book I — Ode I (1-2) Dedication of First (3) Bks of Odes to Maecenas

B. Book I — Ode XX Horace tells Maecenas he'll get only cheap "Sabine wine" at his house. Applause for Maecenas in theatre.

C. Book II — Ode XII (21-28) Horace mentions a certain "Lycimnia" of whom Maecenas is very fond. This may be his wife.

D. Book II — Ode XVII (1-4) "It isn't agreeable to me or the Gods" says Horace, that you, Maecenas should die first."

(5) Horace calls Maecenas a part of my soul"
(10-12) Prophesy they will die together.
(21-22) "our horoscopes agree" says Horace.
(22-26) Mentions applause Maecenas got on entering theatre after sickness.

E. Book II — Ode XVIII (11-14) Happy with Sabine farm, Horace requires nothing more of his patron.

F. Book III — Ode VIII (5) Maecenas, learned in both languages; (13-15) "Take (100) cups in honor of your friends safety" says Horace.

G. Book III — Ode XVI (20) "Maecenas, glory of Knights" says Horace.
(22-24) Horace proclaims himself a deserter from side of wealthy. He may refer to Maecenas.

H. Book III — Ode XXIX (1) Horace mentions Maecenas' Tuscan descent
(11-12) Cease to admire Rome, says Horace
(13-16) A poor man's board will often heal a care burdened brow, says Horace.
(32-33) "Remember to duly adjust that which is present" says Horace to Maecenas.

L. Book IV — Ode XI (17-20) Meaning of Maecenas' birthday to Horace.

## EPODES

A. Epode I — (5-8) Horace says he is ill at ease away from Maecena company
(31-32) "your generosity has enriched me enough and more than enough" says Horace.

B. Epode III (19-22) Horace wishes ill luck to Maecenas, if he ever eats any more garlic.

C. Epode IX (1-6) Overjoyed at news of Actium, Horace wants to know when he and his patron will be able to get together.

D. Epode XIV (13) "You're madly in love yourself" says Horace to his patron

## ODES

A. Book I — Ode I (1-8) Dedication of First (1) Ode of Odes to Maecenas

B. Book I — Ode XX Horace calls Maecenas "half and only crony" "Roman nine" at his house. Apologies for Maecenas in theatre.

C. Book II — Ode XII (21-28) Horace realizes a certain "Lycimnia" of whom Maecenas is very fond. This may be his wife.

D. Book II — Ode XVII (1-4) "It isn't agreeable, my or the Moon" says Horace, "but you, Maecenas, are the first."

(5) "Do one calls Maecenas a part of my soul"
(10-12) Prophecy they will die together.
(21-24) "Our horoscopes agree" says Horace.
(25-28) Medicine suggests Maecenas go on a sobering cheate after alcohol.

E. Book II — Ode XVIII (11-14) Happy with Maecenas' wife, Horace regards nothing more of his petros.

F. Book III — Ode VIII (5) Maecenas, learned in both languages; (13-16) "Make (100) cups in honor of your friends safety" says Horace.

G. Book III — Ode XVI (29) "Maecenas, alert of Phaeton" says Horace.
(32-34) Horace proclaims himself a descendant from kin of royality. No any rules to Maecenas.

H. Book III — Ode XIX (1) Horace mentions Maecenas' Tuscan descent.
(11-12) Cause to Sabina Diva, says Horace
(14-16) A poor man's house will often hold a sere burdened Jove, says Horace.
(22-24) "Remember to duly adjust that which is present" says Horace to Maecenas.

I. Book IV — Ode XI (17-20) Meaning of Maecenas' history to Horace.

## ODES

A. Book I — (5-6) Horace says he is ill or weak away from Maecenas' company
(21-22) "Your generosity has endeared me enough one more than enough" says Horace.

B. Book III — (29-32) Horace wishes fill from to Maecenas, if he ever seek any sorrowfulness.

C. Book IV — (1-4) overjoyed at the's of Maecenas. Horace seeks to know when to and his person will be alike (5) are together.

EPISTLES

A. Bk. I Epist. I (1-4) Horace has quit the field of lyric poetry.

B. Bk. I Epist VII (1-5) Horace pleads ill health as the cause of his month's absence from Rome.
(12-13) "I'll visit you in the spring" says Horace.
(22-23) Horace means Maecenas as "the good and wise man who is prepared to do kindness to the deserving"

Political References

Satires

A. Bk.I - Satire V (27-29)(31)

B. Bk.II - Satire VI (38)

Odes

A. Bk.II - Ode XII (1-12)

B. Bk.III - Ode VIII (17-28)

C. Bk.III - Ode XXIX (25-28)

Epodes

A. Epode I (1-4)

B. Epode XIV (1-8)

Now, to briefly consider the content of these references

Satires

A. Bk.I - Sat.V(27-29) - Reference to Maecenas' trip to interview Antonius for Octavianus

(31)- Mentions that Maecenas with members of his party arrived.

B. Bk.II - Sat.VI (38) - Maecenas' political importance reflected "Get Maecenas to put his signet to these tablets."

Odes

A. Bk.II - Ode XII (1-12) Refusal to write history and epic - probably in connection with Augustan political propaganda. This reference could well be called personal, too.

B. Bk.III - Ode VIII(17-28) "Postpone your political cares" says Horace. Horace then tells his patron, why. Nothing to worry from troublesome enemies now.

C. Bk.III - Ode XXIX (25-28) Maecenas worried with cares of State.

Epodes

A. Epode I (1-4) Maecenas, prepared to go to Actium for service to Octavius.

B. Epode XIV (1-8) Poems that Horace had promised to his patron, have not been written. Probably poems for political purposes.

-Casual References-
-Satires

A./ BkI - Sat.I - 1
B./ BkI - Sat.IX (43-45)
C./ BkII- Sat.III (312-313)
D./ BkII- Sat.VI (30-31)
E./ BkII- Sat.VII (32-34)
F./ BkII- Sat.VIII (16-17)
(22)

-Odes-

A./ BkII- Ode XX (7)

-Epistles-

A./ BkI - Epist. XIX - 1

-Satires-

A./ BkI - Sat.I - 1 - Simply addresses Maecenas
B./ BkI - Sat.IX (43-45) - Casual mention of Maecenas and the opinion of another, of Maecenas.
C./ BkII- Sat.III (312-313) - Casual mention of Maecenas
D./ BkII- Sat.VI (30-31) - Casual mention of Maecenas
E./ BkII- Sat.VII (32-34) - Casual mention of Maecenas
F./ BkII- Sat.VIII (16-17) (22) - Maecenas mentioned at Banquet of Nasidienus.

-Odes-

A./ BkII- Ode XX (7) - Maecenas called "dilecte Maecenas"

-Epistles-

A./ BkI - Epist. XIX - (1) - Maecenas addressed as "Maecenas docte"